

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 OMB-01 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01  
/078 W

-----182003Z 065335 /72

R 181721Z MAY 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2987  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
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AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX  
AMCONSUL LYON  
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE  
AMCONSUL NICE  
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 14803

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, FR, PINT  
SUBJECT: UPDATING COMMON PROGRAM  
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SUMMARY: MEETING IN PARIS MAY 18, THE THREE LEADERS OF  
THE UNION OF THE LEFT -- SOCIALIST FRANCOIS MITTERRAND  
(PS), COMMUNIST GEORGES MARCHAIS (PCF), AND LEFT RADICAL  
ROBERT FABRE (MRG) -- OFFICIALLY LAUNCHED THE LONG  
AWAITED "UPDATING" OPERATION OF THE COMMON PROGRAM.  
WHILE THE SUMMIT DID NOT ADDRESS SPECIFIC POINTS OF CON-

TENTION, MOST NOTABLY THE EXTENT OF NATIONALIZATIONS, MITTERRAND USED THE MEETING TO STAKE OUT A TOUGH POSITION IN THE FACE OF PCF PRESSURE FOR REVISION. FOLLOWING CLOSE ON THE HEELS OF HIS PUBLIC EMBARRASSMENT LAST WEEK BY THE PCF (WHICH, ON THE EVENING OF HIS TELEVISED DEBATE WITH PRIME MINISTER BARRE, PUBLISHED UNCOORDINATED ECONOMIC STATISTICS ON THE COST OF IMPLEMENTING THE COMMON PROGRAM (PARIS 14201), MITTERRAND MADE IT CLEAR TUESDAY THAT THE COMMON PROGRAM WOULD EITHER GO FORWARD IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS GAME PLAN OR IT MIGHT NOT GO FORWARD AT ALL. COMMENTING ON MRG DEMANDS TO RESTRICT SOMEWHAT THE SCOPE OF THE EXISTING PLAN AND PCF DEMANDS TO ENLARGE IT, THE PS LEADER OFFERED AN EASY SOLUTION TO HIS TWO PARTNERS: MAKE YOUR OWN COMMON PROGRAM TOGETHER. THE TRUMP CARD -- ELECTORAL SUCCESS -- IS IN MITTERRAND'S HAND AND WILL STAY THERE AS LONG AS THE PS CONTINUES TO AUTODISTANCE ITS TWO PARTNERS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SUMMIT: THE FINAL PRODUCT OF THE LEFT SUMMIT WAS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 15-MEMBER JOINT WORKING GROUP CHARGED WITH (A) REACHING A CONSENSUS ON THOSE ISSUES WHERE THAT IS POSSIBLE AND (B) LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR FINAL NEGOTIATION AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL ON THOSE ISSUES WHERE NO AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED. THIS GROUP CONTINUES THE WORK WHICH HAS BEEN UNDERWAY SINCE JUNE 1975 BY THREE JOINT COMMISSIONS, BUT THERE IS NOW A PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED DEADLINE OF EARLY JULY FOR COMPLETION OF THE PROJECT, AT WHICH TIME THE THREE

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PARTY LEADERS WILL CONVENE ONCE AGAIN TO HASH OUT THE MORE CONTENTIOUS PROBLEMS AND TO PUT THEIR SEAL OF APPROVAL ON AN UPDATED AGREEMENT. ROBERT PONTILLON, PS NATIONAL FIRST SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND ONE OF THE FIVE PS REPRESENTATIVES ON THE JOINT WORKING GROUP, SAYS THAT THE GROUP WILL COMPLETE ITS WORK EVEN BEFORE EARLY JULY, POSSIBLY BY MID-JUNE. HE ALSO ADMITS, HOWEVER, THAT FOR THE PS THERE ARE CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES IN THE NEGOTIATION IN THAT, WHILE THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY IS FULLY BEHIND CERTAIN POSITIONS, THE BASE OF THE PARTY HAS NOT YET BEEN CONSULTED AND COULD IN FACT BE FACED WITH APPROVING POSITIONS AFTER THE FACT.

2. THE EASY QUESTIONS.....: THERE ARE CERTAIN AREAS WHICH MOST OBSERVERS FEEL WILL POSE FEW PROBLEMS: A SECTION ON LIBERTIES, REVISING THE POSITION ON DIRECT ELECTION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, AND REWRITING THE EXISTING SECTION ON THE FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE. BUT EVEN

IN THESE AREAS, PONTILLON POINTS OUT THAT THERE ARE MINOR DIFFERENCES TO BE NEGOTIATED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE PS IS NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT PCF LANGUAGE WHICH MIGHT SEEM TO POSE A LIMIT ON THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRATIC EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS. THERE WILL ALSO BE A MINOR DEBATE OVER THE POSITION TO BE TAKEN ON THE ENTRANCE OF PORTUGAL INTO THE COMMON MARKET, WITH THE PS IN FAVOR AND THE PCF AGAINST.

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3. AND THE MORE DIFFICULT: THERE WILL, OF COURSE, BE MORE SERIOUS CONFRONTATIONS, WHICH CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED BY MITTERRAND, MARCHAIS AND FABRE. ACCORDING TO BOTH PONTILLON AND PIERRE BEREGOVY, HEAD OF THE PS NEGOTIATING TEAM, THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEMS ARE IN THE ECONOMIC AREA: THE EXTENT OF NATIONALIZATIONS, THE TIMING OF THEIR IMPLEMENTATION AS WELL AS THAT OF OTHER ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS, AND THE QUESTION OF PRIORITIES AMONG ALL THESE PROGRAMS. IN ADDITION, BEREGOVY SAYS THAT THE PS IS GOING TO QUESTION THE PCF HARD ON WHY THEIR CALCULATIONS ARE FOCUSED ON 1980 WHEN THE COMMON PROGRAM IS DESIGNED FOR FIVE YEARS REACHING TO 1983. GIVEN MITTERRAND'S VERY FIRM STANCE AT THE OPENING SESSION, SOME OF THESE POTENTIAL CONFRONTATIONS MAY ALREADY BE ACADEMIC IN THAT THE PS IS ON RECORD AS STRONGLY IN OPPOSITION TO ANY FURTHER NATIONALIZATIONS AND TO THE PUBLICATION OF FURTHER STATISTICS.

4. THE PS LEAD -- A GOOD ATTACK...: THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE SUMMIT WAS MITTERRAND'S CLEAR INDICATION THAT HE AND THE PS ARE IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT SO FAR AS THE UNION OF THE LEFT IS CONCERNED. AS FOR THE PCF, BEREGOVY FOUND MARCHAIS' ATTITUDE BETTER THAN EXPECTED, PERHAPS BECAUSE HE REALIZES THE PCF WENT A BIT TOO FAR IN PUBLISHING ITS FIGURES LAST WEEK AND CERTAINLY BECAUSE HE KNOWS THAT THE PS, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, HOLDS ALL THE IMPORTANT CARDS. AS FOR FORM, FABRE OPENED THE MEETING WITH A RESUME OF THOSE AREAS WHICH THE MRG DESIRES TO SEE CHANGED; MARCHAIS FOLLOWED WITH A GENERAL EXPOSE ON THE NECESSITY FOR BRINGING THE COMMON PROGRAM UP-TO-DATE AND DEFENDING HIS PARTY'S INDEPENDENT PUBLICATION OF ECONOMIC STATISTICS. MITTERRAND WAS CONTENT TO SAY SIMPLY THAT HE HAD NO DECLARATION TO MAKE AND THAT HE HAD IN FACT MADE HIS PRONOUNCEMENTS IN 1972 WHEN THE ORIGINAL PROGRAM WAS SIGNED. HE NOTED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO "SECOND COMMON PROGRAM UNTIL AFTER THE

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FIRST ONE HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED," A CLEAR INDICATION THAT

THE PS WILL ACCEPT NEITHER SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS NOR ENLARGEMENTS IN THE SCOPE OF THE PLAN. MITTERRAND DID AGREE THAT THE PROGRAM NEEDED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE CURRENT ENVIRONMENT -- ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL -- WHICH HAS CHANGED SINCE 1972 AND ALSO AGREED WITH THE PCF SUGGESTION THAT A "CALENDAR" BE DRAWN UP FOR THE APPLICATION OF PROPOSED GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT PROGRAMS.

5....IS BETTER THAN A STRONG DEFENSE: IN THE END, THE MEETING WAS NOTABLE ON SEVERAL ACCOUNTS:

-- MOST IMPORTANTLY, MITTERRAND CLEARLY DEFINED HIS PERSONAL ROLE AS LEADER OF THE LEFT, IF THE LEFT INDEED WISHES TO GO FORWARD AS AN ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

-- HE LET IT BE KNOWN IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT THE PS IS PREPARED TO COMPROMISE ONLY TO CERTAIN LIMITS AND IMPLIED THAT THOSE BOUNDS DO NOT INCLUDE MANY OF THE CHANGES WHICH HIS PARTNERS DESIRE, ABOVE ALL THE ADDITIONAL NATIONALIZATIONS SOUGHT BY THE PCF BUT ALSO THE RETRACTIONS ON OTHER FRONTS FAVORED BY THE MRG.

-- FOR THE PCF, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT MARCHAIS FOUND IT NECESSARY TO POSE A RHETORICAL QUESTION IN THE THEME OF "SOME DOUBT OUR DESIRE TO WIN". HE ANSWERED IT BY SAYING "WE WANT TO WIN, WE WANT TO GOVERN TOGETHER, WE WANT TO REACH THAT GOAL." SUCH REMARKS CAN ONLY INCREASE MITTERRAND'S LEVERAGE IN THAT FABRE AND MARCHAIS BOTH KNOW THAT WITHOUT MITTERRAND AND THE PS THERE IS NO FUTURE FOR THEIR PARTIES OUTSIDE THEIR CURRENT OPPOSITION ROLES. ON YET ANOTHER FRONT, THE SUMMIT INDICATED THAT PS ECONOMIST MICHEL ROCARD IS ONE STEP AHEAD OF HIS NEAREST RIVAL JACQUES ATTALI IN THE QUEST FOR ASCENDANCY AS NUMBER ONE ECONOMIC STRATEGIST. ATTALI HAS BEEN PUSHING PUBLICLY FOR MORE PUBLICATION OF STATISTICAL DATA ON THE COMMON PROGRAM WHILE ROCARD HAS BEEN ARGUING THE OPPOSITE. MITTERRAND'S DECISION IN THIS CASE SUPPORTS ROCARD. BEYOND THESE IM-

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MEDIATE OBSERVATIONS LIE THE OMNIPRESENT UNCERTAINTIES OF THE FRENCH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCENE -- INTERNAL PS DIFFICULTIES, LABOR PRESSURES, EARLY ELECTIONS, ETC. -- WHICH COULD STILL INFLUENCE THE FINAL OUTCOME. ONE CAN SAY, HOWEVER, THAT WHATEVER THE FACTORS, MITTERRAND DOES NOT INTEND TO RELINQUISH HIS HOLD OF EITHER THE PS OR THE UNION OF THE LEFT.

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## Message Attributes

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